

ALERT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Th 1. 2.	<i>5 &</i>	20. Russia Reborn21. The State Of Public Diplomacy22. The Tajik Solution: A Model For Fixing Afghanistan
Ecc 3.	onomics and Tradep.3 Bad Debts: Assessing China's Financial	23. Transformative Choices: Leaders And The Origins Of Intervention Strategy
4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	Influence In Great Power Politics How China Won And Russia Lost Imaginative Obstruction: Modern Protectionism In The Global Economy Losing Controls: How U.S. Export Restrictions Jeopardize National Security And Harm Competitiveness The Root Of The Financial Crisis Searching For A Miracle: 'Net Energy' Limits And The Fate Of Industrial Society	 U.S. Society and Values
Global Issues / Environmentp.5		
9.	Is The Foreign News Bureau Part Of The	
10.	Past? The 'Mega-Eights': Urban Leviathans And International Instability	
11.	A Plan To Power 100 Percent Of The	
12.	Planet With Renewables The Reconstruction Of American Journalism	
13.	Where Are The Other Women Leaders?	
Regional Securityp.7		
-	American Grand Strategy After Iraq	
	American Grand Strategy From The Cold	
	War's End To 9/11	
16.	China's Naval Nationalism: Sources,	
	Prospects, And The U.S. Response	
17.	The Kremlin Begs To Differ	
18.	Reassessing U.S. Strategy In The	
	Aftermath Of The Korean War	
19.	Roosevelt, Truman And The Development	

Of Postwar Grand Strategy

The Rule of Law

1. LOBBYING THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH: CURRENT PRACTICES AND OPTIONS FOR CHANGE

Straus, Jacob R.

Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, December 1, 2009.

The report outlines the development of registration requirements for lobbyists engaging executive branch officials since 1995. It also summarizes steps taken by the Obama Administration to limit and monitor lobbying of the executive branch; discusses the development and implementation of restrictions placed on lobbying for Recovery Act and EESA funds; examines the Obama Administration's decision to stop appointing lobbyists to federal advisory bodies and committees; considers third-party criticism of current executive branch lobbying policies; and provides options for possible modifications in current lobbying laws and practices. available online at http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R40947_20091201.pdf

2. THE OTHER 1989s

Halliday, Fred opendemocracy.net, November 6, 2009

Irish writer and academic Fred Halliday talks about the several less-than-happy outcomes resulting from the fall of communism in 1989. The breakdown of central authority, and the rise of nationalism in Europe and in parts of the third world, he says, led to the very break up of the state and bloody wars (e.g. Yugoslavia). Another major consequence of the collapse of communism was the transformation of former communist parties into new, privatizing ruling elites. "The liberal-democratic pattern presaged in Berlin can now, twenty years on, be said to encompass some dozen European states," Halliday says, "but the transformed authoritarian model, where the old party leadership has held on to power, is more than twice that number: it encompasses twelve of the fifteen former Soviet republics (with Russia as the model leader), four states in east Asia (China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia), Cuba, and a range of former pro-Soviet (what in communist terminology were "socialist-oriented") states across the world." Currently available online at http://www.opendemocracy.net/fred-halliday/other-1989s

Economics and Trade

3. BAD DEBTS: ASSESSING CHINA'S FINANCIAL INFLUENCE IN GREAT POWER POLITICS

Drezner, Daniel W. International Security, vol. 34, no. 2, Fall 2009, pp. 7-45

Drezner, professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, states that policymakers have voiced growing concerns about U.S. dependence on China and other authoritarian capitalist states as a source of credit to fund the U.S. trade and budget deficits. He argues if Beijing or another sovereign creditor were to flex its financial muscles, Washington could buckle. The ability of creditor states to convert their financial power into political power suggests that the power of credit has been moderately exaggerated in policy circles. China's financial power increases its deterrent capabilities, but it has little effect on its coercible capabilities. China can use its financial power to resist U.S. entreaty, but it cannot force the United States into changing its policies. Financial power works best when a concert of creditors (or debtors) can be maintained. The author describes two case studies—the contestation

over regulating sovereign wealth funds and the protection of Chinese financial investments in the United States—demonstrate the constraints on China's financial power. Currently available online at http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/international security/summary/v034/34.2.drezner.html

4. HOW CHINA WON AND RUSSIA LOST: TWO DISSIMILAR ECONOMIC PATHS

Gregory, Paul; Zhou, Kate

Policy Review, No. 158, December 2009-January 2010

The economic reforms that took place in China and Russia in the 1980s have resulted in very different outcomes, note the authors. The Chinese Communist Party under Deng Xiaoping opened up the economy but resisted grassroots reform. However, China has a tradition of small private agriculture and trading, and the rural population began bringing food and goods to the major urban centers on their own, braving official harassment and reprisal. China's was a bottom-up spontaneous reform that had broad popular support, and spread to such an extent that the leadership eventually had to concede its success. In Russia's case, Gorbachev's reforms were initated on a top-down basis, with no meaningful constituency, as all Russians worked for the state. Gorbachev also had to contend with the intractable problems of large state enterprises and state-run collective farms, and foreign firms were reluctant to invest in Russia because of the lack of contract and property-rights law. The authors note that Russia's experience in foreign investment is in stark contrast to the case in China, which was helped by the knowledge of local contacts by the large Chinese émigré business community throughout Asia and North America. Available online at http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/72997307.html

5. IMAGINATIVE OBSTRUCTION: MODERN PROTECTIONISM IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Levy, Philip

Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, vol. 10, no. 2, Summer/Fall 2009, pp. 7-14

Levy, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, notes that, as international trade has grown exponentially in recent decades, so has the variety of motivations for individual countries to institute trade protections. Levy categorizes protectionist policies in three general groups. Intentional protectionism is the most transparent, designed to shield domestically-produced goods, such as agricultural products or steel, from foreign competition. Incidental protectionism are measures that affect the import of goods under the rubric of unrelated domestic issues, such as prohibiting the imports of products made with toxic materials as a public-health or safety issue. Instrumental protectionism are actions designed to further a nation's foreign-policy or other goal, such as limiting the spread of dual-use technology. Levy agrees that protectionism must be avoided, but "in order to reject protectionism, we must first be able to recognize it."

6. LOSING CONTROLS: HOW U.S. EXPORT RESTRICTIONS JEOPARDIZE NATIONAL SECURITY AND HARM COMPETITIVENESS

Wallerstein, Mitchel

Foreign Affairs, Vol. 88, No. 6, November/December 2009, pp. 11-19

In today's wired and highly competitive world, export controls cannot longer be effective and sometimes can be counterproductive, says Wallerstein, a former U.S. defense official and now dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. U.S. exports controls, which have become more arcane and ineffective with time, undermine national security by discouraging innovative firms from pursuing dual-use technologies and foreign firms that own advanced technologies from bidding for U.S. defense contracts. Imposing licensing requirements that foreign rivals don't face, weakens competitive positions of U.S. high-tech

companies. The business lost due to export controls -- estimated at \$ 9 billion a year — poses a threat to the strength of key U.S. industries. In many instances, those making technical decisions about whether certain technologies or scientific information should be subject to control lack the necessary training and knowledge. Carefully targeted export restrictions are necessary in regard to rogue or aggressively militarizing states. But policymakers must abandon the notion that the U.S. can engage in technology denial without suffering significant costs to its prosperity and national security, the author says.

7. THE ROOT OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Kling, Arnold

Policy Review, No. 158, December 2009-January 2010

The author, a former economist at the Federal Reserve, notes that there is no single chief villain in the financial crisis of 2008; what characterized it was the magnitude of the self-deception in all parties concerned. The crisis was both a market failure and a government failure – financial executives had too much confidence in their risk-management strategies, and government regulators did not question the soundness of the oversight measures in place. Says Kling, "there was a widespread gap between what people thought they knew to be true and what was actually true." The failure to prevent the crisis was from the lack of knowledge of key policymakers — if they realized that the housing bubble was posing a risk, or that the market was becoming distorted away from direct lending and toward securitization, they could have issued rules to banks to reduce their exposure or restrict the issuance of mortgage securities several years earlier. Available online at http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/72903637.html

8. SEARCHING FOR A MIRACLE: 'NET ENERGY' LIMITS AND THE FATE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Heinberg, Richard

Post Carbon Institute / International Forum on Globalization, September 2009

Heinberg, Senior Fellow at the Post Carbon Institute, notes in this special report that the world's current energy regime is unsustainable -- "the designers of the global economy sold us visions of never-ending growth and abundance ... but now, limits are everywhere apparent." Conventional fossil and nuclear energy sources are nearing their limits, and their continued use is proving increasingly hazardous to the biosphere. This report analyzes in detail whether any combination of known or alternative energy sources supply society's energy needs up to the year 2100. Heinberg's disturbing conclusion is that "there is no clear practical scenario" by which energy from today's conventional sources can be replaced with energy from alternative sources to maintain industrial society at its present scale. Key among his assertions is that the net energy yield, or Energy Returned On Energy Invested (EROEI) ratio, on alternative energy systems is much lower than on conventional fossil or nuclear sources, which have powered modern development for a century. He is convinced that energy conservation, combined with gradual population decline, must become primary strategies for achieving sustainability. The report concludes that "this is not great news, but denial is worse . . . current assumptions about our energy options are unrealistic. New thinking is mandatory." Available online at http://www.postcarbon.org/report/44377-searching-for-a-miracle

Global Issues / Environment

9. IS THE FOREIGN NEWS BUREAU PART OF THE PAST?

Russo, Diana

The author, a journalism professor at Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, notes that foreign correspondents are now coping with something that was almost impossible to imagine only five years ago: cutbacks. Despite increasing globalization of the economy and issues such as global warming and international terrorism, news outlets continue to shutter foreign bureaus and slash foreign coverage at an alarming rate. Mainstream media is now replacing foreign correspondents with "hot spot" drop-in coverage, and outsourcing to local hires and newswires. The demand for faster information creates a different type of journalism. Former bureau chiefs in Delhi or Cairo who chatted one-on-one with diplomats and other sources now carry laptops in which to access their blogs, tweets and other new media tools. Even network giants like ABC and NBC have shuttered bureau offices. Except for a one-person ABC bureau in Nairobi, there were no more bureaus left in Africa, India or South America. As newspapers deal with budget cuts and layoffs, due largely to declining readers and viewers, the feeling is that readers can turn to the internet for international news.

10. THE 'MEGA-EIGHTS': URBAN LEVIATHANS AND INTERNATIONAL INSTABILITY

Liotta, P.H.; Miskel, James F. ORBIS, vol. 53, no. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 663-647

Liotta and Miskel note that in 2015, there will be 58 cities on the planet with a population of 5 million or more and, by 2025, according to National Intelligence Council, 27 cities with a population exceeding 10 million. The U.N. Population Division classifies populations in excess of 10 million as megacities and many of these urban behemoths will be located in the so-called 10/40 window -- the area in Africa and Asia between north latitude 10 and 40 degrees. The authors believe that this urban growth will have serious consequences for international stability, human security and environmental degradation. Without a doubt, unchecked growth in the megacities in the 10/40 window will change the face of the global map in the twenty-first century.

11. A PLAN TO POWER 100 PERCENT OF THE PLANET WITH RENEWABLES

Jacobson, Mark; Delucchi, Mark Scientific American, November 2009

Wind, water and solar technologies can provide 100 percent of the world's energy, eliminating all fossil fuels. Supplies of wind and solar energy on accessible land dwarf the energy consumed by people around the globe. The authors' plan calls for 3.8 million large wind turbines, 90,000 solar plants, and numerous geothermal, tidal and rooftop photovoltaic installations worldwide. The cost of generating and transmitting power would be less than the projected cost per kilowatt-hour for fossil-fuel and nuclear power. Shortages of a few specialty materials, along with lack of political will, loom as the greatest obstacles.

12. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AMERICAN JOURNALISM

Downie, Leonard Jr.; Schudson, Michael Columbia Journalism Review, November/December 2009

The authors of this in-depth report ask hard questions about the function of the press and the future of "accountability" journalism as a public service at a time of crisis in news media. They make six recommendations for the support of credible, independent and original news reporting. These include new approaches to public and private financing of news organizations serving the public good; incorporation of new dissemination vehicles while retaining downsized traditional

formats; and utilizing volunteer news gatherers alongside professionals. Downie, a vice president and former executive editor of the Washington Post, and Schudson, a Columbia University journalism professor, call for more leaders across the board "to seize this moment of challenging changes and new beginnings." Currently available online at http://www.cir.org/reconstruction/the-reconstruction of american.php

13. WHERE ARE THE OTHER WOMEN LEADERS?

Goudreau, Jenna Forbes, November 11, 2009

Although most Americans are comfortable with women leaders across industries, women account for only 18 percent of the nation's top leaders and are still only making 78.7 cents to every dollar earned by a man, according to a study released by the White House Project. American women, the report found, are earning the majority of college degrees and make up more than half of middle managers, yet very few are reaching senior management level. The United States, it says, ranks 71st out of 189 countries in terms of women's representation in politics--trailing behind the U.K., Japan and France and Afghanistan, Cuba and Pakistan. The report recommends setting targets and timelines for the number of women needed in top positions, focusing more on powerful women role models in the media, and increasing flexibility in workplace structures. Currently available online at http://www.forbes.com/2009/11/13/women-leaders-white-house-project-forbes-woman-power-women-chief-executive.html

Regional Security

14. AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGY AFTER IRAQ

Kreps, Sarah Orbis, vol. 53, no. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 629-645

Kreps, assistant professor at the Department of Government at Cornell University, writes that, to the extent that a strategy can be identified in the first year of the Obama Administration, its defining features are not a break from the past but continuity. She first identifies the elements of grand strategy, pointing to the international distribution of power, American bureaucracy, and public as the key sources of constraint and opportunity. Kreps then shows how shifts in these factors—comparatively less U.S. power, an overstretched military conducting counterinsurgency operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, and a weary American public—produced a shift in grand strategy that predated the 2008 election and that remains consistent with the current strategic setting. This article is part of a special series, Debating American Grand Strategy After Major War.

15. AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGY FROM THE COLD WAR'S END TO 9/11

Suri, Jeremi ORBIS, vol. 53, no. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 611-627

Suri, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, asserts after the end of the Cold War, American policymakers sought to create a new grand strategy for the United States, but they failed in this endeavor, because of difficult domestic and international circumstances, but also because of conceptual limitations. He pins down the efforts at strategy formulation in the administrations of George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton, and analyzes their shortcomings. The article encourages readers to think about how future strategists might improve upon this legacy with clearer and more disciplined attention to priorities, capabilities, and trade-offs. Making grand strategy in a democracy is not easy, but it is necessary. Suri believes the absence of

effective grand strategy in the 1990s contributed to the crises of the early twenty-first century.

16. CHINA'S NAVAL NATIONALISM: SOURCES, PROSPECTS, AND THE U.S. RESPONSE

Ross, Robert S.

International Security, vol. 34, no. 2, Fall 2009, pp. 46-81

Ross, professor of political science at Boston College, believes that China will soon embark on an ambitious maritime policy that will include a power-projection navy centered on an aircraft carrier. He argues that China's naval ambition is driven by widespread nationalism, growing social instability, and the leadership's concern for its political legitimacy. China's maritime power, however, will be limited by the constraints experienced by all land powers. In China's case, territorial security and a corresponding commitment to a large ground force capability will constrain its naval capabilities as well as a potential challenge to U.S. maritime security. Ross believes that China's naval nationalism will challenge U.S.-China cooperation, and will also likely challenge the U.S. to develop policy to manage U.S.-China naval competition to allow for continued political cooperation.

17. THE KREMLIN BEGS TO DIFFER

Simes, Dimitri K.; Saunders, Paul J. National Interest, November/December 2009

The authors, president and executive director of the Nixon Center, analyze the political situation in Russia and its effect on relations with the U.S. Russia's political system, a popularly supported semiauthoritarian state capitalism, is the source of its problems. Corruption is deeply embedded and pervasive, severely limiting the country's modernization and sustainable economic growth. It makes the political system very resistant to change and also quite fragile, and it also combines with the uninhibited power of the government to discourage foreign investment in the country. There is little discontent among the populace as long as they reap real benefits, such as the increases in real income and drop in poverty they saw during Putin's presidency. The authors note that a power struggle between Putin and Medvedev could destabilize the situation with unknown consequences, and that it is important for the U.S. not to take sides in Russia's internal politics. They write: "Russia has been a difficult interlocutor since its independence nearly two decades ago and is unlikely to become an easier one anytime soon. But for all of its faults -- and they are many -- Russia is not inherently an American foe. Russia's leaders may be ruthless, but they do not need foreign enemies. With care and determination, the United States can work with Moscow to advance important national interests." Currently available online at http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=22344

18. REASSESSING U.S. STRATEGY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE KOREAN WAR

Stueck, William

ORBIS, vol. 53, no. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 571-590

Stueck, professor of history at the University of Georgia, analyzes the reassessment of U.S. strategy that Dwight D. Eisenhower directed after succeeding Harry Truman. Stueck asserts that, despite much of the rhetoric of the early Eisenhower administration, the outcome of Eisenhower's reassessment was closer to the objective of containment than Truman's key formulations. He then explores how the orientation applied to ending the war in Korea and sustaining the U.S. position there and elsewhere after the armistice. He discusses the insights that the process of reassessment and its outcome provide for the present. This article is part of a special series, Debating American Grand Strategy After Major War.

19. ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POSTWAR GRAND STRATEGY

Miscamble, Wilson D. ORBIS, vol. 53, no. 4, Fall 2009, pp. 553-570

Miscamble, professor of history at the University of Notre Dame, argues that after the U.S. victory in World War II, it was clear that the country should move beyond the disastrous policies of the 1930s, but it was less clear how. In the final analysis, a lasting postwar strategy was forged under President Truman. He writes that appreciating how Truman moved well beyond Roosevelt's guiding assumptions is essential to understanding the evolution of American grand strategy; experience in wartime planning and grand strategy formulation can prove quite inadequate for dealing with postwar challenges. He concludes the Truman administration eventually developed and adopted containment and moved far beyond FDR's approach. This article is part of a special series, Debating American Grand Strategy After Major War.

20. RUSSIA REBORN

Trenin, Dmitri Foreign Affairs, vol. 88, no. 6, November-December 2009

According to Trenin, director of the Carnegie Moscow Center, Russia has failed to obtain its objectives of dominance over neighboring countries and equality with the United States, the European Union, and China. At fault are an energy-dependent economy, a shallow political system, and a retreat to nationalism. The global economic crisis hit Russia, dependent on exporting raw materials, harder than any other big economy. Gazprom's use of energy as a weapon has also contributed to unraveling Russia's plan for energy dominance. Russia is losing influence in Ukraine, Moldova, and even Belarus; Russia's grip on its own North Caucasus region is deteriorating. Russia can no longer compensate for its economic weakness with superior manpower and military production. "Russia needs to focus on overcoming its economic, social, and political backwardness and use foreign policy as a resource to meet this supreme national interest," Trenin says.

21. THE STATE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

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Foreign Service Journal, vol. 86, no. 10, October 2009, pp. 14-24, 26-36, 38-58

In this special issue, former and present PD practitioners [Joe B. Johnson, William A. Rugh, Michael McClellan, Monica O'Keefe, Elizabeth Corwin, William P. Kiehl, Robert McMahon] discuss the role of public diplomacy since the demise of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1999, when it was abolished by Congress, and its information and exchanges functions were transferred to the U.S. Department of State in a new Bureau of Public Diplomacy as a way to bring public diplomacy closer to policy-making. The contributors hope to start a conversation about the direction of public diplomacy in the 21st century. When the Cold War ended in 1989, USIA's former mission to fight a propaganda battle against the forces of Communist ended and public diplomacy searched for a new, post-Cold war mission. At the advent of the Obama administration, PD confronts new challenges with social networking tools, such as blogs, tweets and Facebook, to apply to the traditional programs of publications, educational and cultural exchanges, and various information programs. In 2008, the major public affairs web pages of the State Department all changed to more participatory and visual styles. For policy, new words like "engagement" and "three-D diplomacy" are replacing the old paradigm and re-cast press and cultural affairs as a truly integral part of diplomacy. Available online at

http://www.foreignservicejournal-digital.com

22. THE TAJIK SOLUTION: A MODEL FOR FIXING AFGHANISTAN

Gavrilis, George

Foreign Affairs, vol. 88, no. 6, November-December 2009

According to Gavrilis, assistant professor of international relations at the University of Texas at Austin, the West should forget about making Afghanistan a model of democracy and development. Instead, it should aim for creating stability in the country just as a small UN group, plus Russia and Iran, did in 1990s' war-torn Tajikistan. "Today, Tajikistan is still corrupt and authoritarian, but it is also tolerably stable -- stable enough for the international community to forget about it, which is a striking mark of success," Gavrilis said. He argues that the West should prod Afghan President Karzai to include political opponents in key government positions, and NATO forces should move troops from the Afghan interior to its borders to thwart incoming insurgents and drug smugglers. He believes the West should also give freer rein to warlords as long as they do not attack the government or international forces, and the U.S. should engage on Afghanistan with Russia and Iran, which have insights from their Tajik experience. Currently available online at http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/65659/george-gavrilis/the-tajik-solution

23. TRANSFORMATIVE CHOICES: LEADERS AND THE ORIGINS OF INTERVENTION STRATEGY

Saunders, Elizabeth N.

International Security, vol. 34, no. 2, Fall 2009, pp. 120-162

Saunders, assistant professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University, deliberates when and why great powers seek to transform foreign institutions and societies through military interventions? She also examines the role that executive leadership plays in influencing the choice of intervention strategy, and the degree to which intervention interferes in the domestic institutions of the targeted state. In the article, Saunders develops a typology of political leaders that reflects how states intervene over time. A comparison of the beliefs of President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson, as well as their decision-making during the Vietnam War, illustrates how the theory operates.

U.S. Society and Values

24. CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE LIBERAL ARTS AND CAREER SERVICES

Brooks, Katharine

Chronicle of Higher Education, vol. 56, no. 11, November 6, 2009, p. A112

Brooks, director of liberal-arts career services at the University of Texas at Austin, writes that the economic downturn has forced many colleges to streamline their academic offerings, often at the expense of liberal-arts programs. She notes that few colleges have provided career guidance to liberal-arts students, and this has contributed to the decline in enrollments in liberal-arts programs; many faculty members are reluctant to get involved in career development, seeing it as another manifestation of creeping vocationalism. Some of Brooks' recommendations are that professors, academic deans and career-center staff work together to discern what is distinct about the curriculum, and to find common ground between what happens in the classroom and in the workplace. Academic departments should evaluate their career-development efforts to see that students can articulate the value of their major, and should support faculty members who participate in career-development efforts.

25. THE GREAT WIDE OPEN

Iyer, Pico Smithsonian, Vol. 40, No. 8, November 2009, pp. 62-69

The state of Alaska celebrated its 50th year as a U.S. state in 2009, but this author writes that the great openness and wildness of the land create the feeling that America still has a frontier so unexplored that the visitor is awed. "Alaska plays havoc with your senses," Iyer writes and "turns everyday logic on its head." He discovered, for instance, that Alaska is more than twice the size of Texas, the largest state by far in the lower 48, but it has fewer miles of highway than Vermont, one of the nation's smallest states in area. The state's motto is "North to the Future," but Iyer writes that the future never arrives in a place where wild animals and the hazards of the wilderness are never far away. Currently available online at http://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/The-Great-Wide-Open.html

26. GROWING SEASON

Lee, Mara Washington Post Magazine, October 25, 2009, pp. 18-22

The move toward sustainable agriculture has some young adults deciding to spend a season, or a lifetime, in the fields as they turn to small farms to make a fresh start, or as a new career. They are often young, educated, politically motivated workers drawn to farms that embrace humane and eco-friendly practices. Such operations are getting a boost from Community Supported Agriculture, a system that lets customers pay in advance for a weekly share of a nearby farm's crops; the number of people participating in CSAs has grown 50% between 2007 and 2009. The number of farmers' markets in the United States has jumped by almost 13% over the last year and now even the White House has its own organic garden. Currently available online at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/16/AR2009101601714.html